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BACKGROUND MEMORANDUM

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

H. Res. 803

A RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING AND DIRECTING THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY TO INVESTIGATE
WHETHER SUFFICIENT GROUNDS EXIST FOR THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO EXERCISE ITS
CONSTITUTIONAL POWER TO IMPEACH

RICHARD M. NIXON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHITE HOUSE STAFF
AND
PRESIDENT NIXON'S CAMPAIGN
ORGANIZATIONS



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BACKGROUND INFORMATION ¹

WHITE HOUSE STAFF

On January 20, 1969, Richard Nixon was inaugurated as the 37th President of the United States. On January 21, 1969, 81 persons were sworn in as members of President Nixon's White House staff. H. R. Haldeman was appointed assistant to the President. John D. Ehrlichman was appointed counsel to the President.

From January 21, 1969, through May 19, 1973, H. R. Haldeman, who had worked for the President in political campaigns since 1956, was President Nixon's chief of staff. He was in charge of administering White House operations. He worked directly with the President in the planning of the President's daily schedule, provided the President with the information he requested from the members of his staff and the members of his administration, and relayed instructions from the President to other officers and members of the executive branch of the Government. Haldeman directed the activities of the President's Appointments Secretary and the White House Staff Secretary. He received copies of memorandums and letters written by senior staff members and assistants. He established, subject to the approval of the President, the White House budget. He had no independent schedule. His schedule was that of the President. He was at the call of the President at all times. During the reelection campaign, the President's campaign organization reported to Haldeman. The President announced Haldeman's resignation on April 30, 1973.

The following White House employees reported to Haldeman:

(a) Lawrence M. Higby was Haldeman's personal aide and his chief administrative assistant throughout Haldeman's tenure at the White House. He had worked previously for Haldeman in private business and in the 1968 Presidential campaign. Higby supervised the flow of persons, papers, telephone calls, and correspondence to Haldeman, acted in Haldeman's name, and traveled with him. After Haldeman's resignation, Higby transferred to the Office of Management and Budget.

(b) In March 1971, after working for Herbert Klein, then director of communications for the executive branch, Gordon C. Strachan became Haldeman's principal political assistant. Strachan performed political assignments for Haldeman. He supervised the White House polling operation and reported on the activities of the Republican National Committee and the Committee for the Re-Election of the President (CRP). He regularly prepared political matters memorandums for Haldeman on the status of the 1972 election campaign, and often carried out decisions Haldeman made on the basis of the information they contained. After the 1972 election, Strachan was appointed to a position with the U.S. Information Agency.

¹ NOTE.—This memorandum was presented to the Committee on the Judiciary by the Impeachment Inquiry staff on May 9, 1974, the first day of the staff's initial presentation of evidence regarding the matters under investigation by the committee pursuant to H. Res. 803.

(c) In January 1969, Alexander P. Butterfield was appointed deputy assistant to the President. Beginning in January 1970, Butterfield's office adjoined the President's. He had responsibility for the President's daily schedule. He oversaw the administration of the White House, including the office of the staff secretary. He reported directly to Haldeman and functioned as Haldeman's deputy in handling the actual flow of people and papers in and out of the President's office. In March 1973, Butterfield was appointed Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration.

(d) Dwight L. Chapin had known Haldeman previously and had worked for the President at his law firm for 2 years before the 1968 election. In January 1969, Chapin joined the White House staff as a special assistant to the President and acted as the President's appointments secretary. Chapin had general planning responsibility for the President's schedule and travel. He reported directly to Haldeman and, at times, to the President. Two years later, Chapin was appointed deputy assistant to the President. He left the White House and entered private business in February 1973.

(e) In January 1969, Stephen B. Bull joined the White House staff and worked under Chapin in the scheduling office. In February 1973, he was appointed a special assistant to the President and assumed additional responsibilities for implementing the President's daily schedule.

(f) On January 20, 1969, Hugh W. Sloan, Jr., became a staff assistant to the President. He worked under Chapin on the planning of the President's appointments and travel. He was also assigned certain special projects. Sloan left the White House in March 1971 to join the President's reelection campaign organization. He resigned as the treasurer of the Finance Committee to Re-Elect the President (FCRP) on July 11, 1972.

(g) In July 1970, John Wesley Dean was hired by Haldeman as counsel to the President. Dean had previously been an Associate Deputy Attorney General in the Justice Department, and his duties in the White House included working with the Justice Department. The counsel's office advised the President on technical legal problems and prepared legal opinions on issues. Dean was also assigned by Haldeman to gather information on political matters of interest to the White House. Dean normally reported to Haldeman, but on certain domestic matters he reported to Ehrlichman. Dean left the White House on April 30, 1973.

(h) In October 1970, Fred Fielding was hired as assistant to the counsel to the President. He became associate counsel in the spring of 1971. He was Dean's "principal deputy." Fielding was appointed deputy counsel in early 1973, and resigned from the President's staff on January 11, 1974.

(i) In January 1969, Herbert G. Klein was appointed to the newly created position of director of communications for the executive branch. His office handled many of the White House public relations and media activities. He and his assistants in the office of communications reported to Haldeman. Klein resigned from the White House on July 1, 1973.

(j) On October 7, 1969, Jeb Stuart Magruder was appointed special assistant to the President to work on Haldeman's staff. Later in 1969

Magruder was also named deputy director of communications. He held both positions until he resigned in May 1971 to work in the President's reelection campaign organization; he later became deputy campaign director of CRP. Magruder's responsibility at the White House was public relations. He organized letter writing programs, encouraged media coverage, and formed private committees to support administration positions.

(k) In December 1970, Herbert L. Porter came to the White House with the understanding that he would work in the reelection campaign. After doing advance work for about a month, Porter was offered a job by Magruder on Klein's staff. From January until May 1971 he worked as a staff assistant in the communications office, where he did public relations work, including scheduling speakers. Porter assumed scheduling responsibilities for the predecessor organization of CRP in May 1971.

(l) On November 6, 1969, Charles W. Colson was named special counsel to the President. Colson initiated, planned, and executed many White House public relations and media efforts. He was in charge of White House relations with "special interest groups" and coordinated fund raising for administration projects. Colson also organized political support for the President's policies. Generally, he reported to Haldeman, but he reported directly to the President on certain matters. On March 10, 1973, Colson resigned from the White House.

(m) In September 1969, Frederick C. LaRue was appointed a special consultant to the President. He served without pay. LaRue reported to Haldeman on the political projects he undertook for the White House. He resigned on February 15, 1972, to work in the President's reelection campaign and later became special assistant to CRP's campaign director.

In January 1969, John D. Ehrlichman was appointed counsel to the President. He reported primarily to Haldeman. On November 4, 1969, he became assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs and the President's chief assistant in the White House for all domestic matters. He advised the President on policy and communicated Presidential decisions to departments and agencies. On July 1, 1970, the Domestic Council was established in the Executive Office of the President as a separate entity with its own staff and budget. Ehrlichman was appointed Executive Director. On January 20, 1973, Ehrlichman resigned this position and on January 21 joined Haldeman as one of the four principal assistants to the President. He worked in that capacity until May 19, 1973. On April 30, 1973, the President announced Ehrlichman's resignation from the White House.

The following were among the members of the White House staff under Ehrlichman's supervision:

(a) In January 1969, Egil Krogh came to the White House as a staff assistant to Ehrlichman. He was deputy counsel to the President from May 1969 until November 1969, when he was appointed deputy assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs. In July 1970, he assumed the additional position of Assistant Director of the Domestic Council. Krogh reported to Ehrlichman, except on a few matters where he reported directly to the President. Krogh's responsibilities in domestic affairs focused on law enforcement, including work with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, drug enforcement programs, and

internal security matters. In July 1971, pursuant to instructions from the President, Krogh organized the White House special investigations unit (the "plumbers"). His work with the unit continued until December 1971. In January 1973 Krogh was appointed Under Secretary of Transportation.

(b) In 1969, David Young came to the White House as an administrative assistant to Henry Kissinger in the National Security Council (NSC). He was Kissinger's appointments secretary. In January 1971, Young became a special assistant, NSC, in charge of classification and declassification of documents. In July 1971, he was transferred to Ehrlichman's staff and assigned to work with Krogh on the White House special investigations unit. Young continued as an assistant to Krogh until January 1973, when he was appointed to a staff position on the Domestic Council. He left the White House in March 1973.

(c) G. Gordon Liddy became a member of the White House special investigations unit in July 1971. His appointment was authorized by Ehrlichman and he was placed on the payroll of the Domestic Council. Liddy worked for Krogh until he resigned from the White House staff in mid-December 1971. He then became counsel to CRP and in March 1972 moved to a predecessor organization of FCRP. He was counsel to FCRP until June 28, 1972.

(d) In early July 1971, E. Howard Hunt started work as a White House consultant. He had been recommended by Colson and initially worked under Colson's supervision. In July 1971 Hunt was assigned with Ehrlichman's approval to the White House special investigations unit, where he worked under Krogh's direction. Hunt had spent 21 years with the Central Intelligence Agency.

(e) In late November 1968, Edward L. Morgan began working under Ehrlichman's supervision to coordinate some of the President's personal affairs. He worked as deputy counsel to the President, deputy assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, and Assistant Director of the Domestic Council. Morgan left the White House in January 1973 and was appointed an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

(f) On April 8, 1969, John J. Caulfield, a former New York City police detective, was hired by Ehrlichman as a staff assistant to the counsel to the President. His duties were to act as liaison with Federal law enforcement agencies and to supervise White House investigations. Ehrlichman ordered the investigations Caulfield directed; later, when Dean became counsel to the President, Caulfield received assignments from both Ehrlichman and Dean. In March 1972 Caulfield left the White House to work for CRP. On April 28, 1972, he accepted a position in the Treasury Department. On July 1, 1972, Caulfield became the Acting Assistant Director for Enforcement of the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division of the Internal Revenue Service.

(g) In July 1969, Anthony T. Ulasewicz, a retired New York City police detective, was authorized by Ehrlichman to work under Caulfield to carry out investigative tasks for the White House. Ulasewicz was not directly employed by the White House, but received investigative assignments through Caulfield, and reported to him. He was paid by Herbert Kalmbach, the President's personal lawyer, from July 1969 through 1972, and worked with Kalmbach from June 1972 through September 1972.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATIONS

In March of 1971, after the President and Attorney General John N. Mitchell discussed the need to set up an organization to work for the President's renomination and reelection, Citizens for the Re-Election of the President was organized. The President and his principal White House advisors had decided that the campaign organization and operation should be set up outside of and independent of the Republican National Committee.

Two White House assistants, Hugh Sloan and Harry Flemming, were the initial staff at the citizens organization. On the recommendation of Haldeman and with the concurrence of Mitchell, Magruder resigned from the White House in May 1971 to assume the position of acting campaign director.

In September 1971, a second campaign organization, the Committee for the Re-Election of the President (CRP), was formed to manage the political aspects of the campaign. On October 1, 1971, the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of President Nixon was created with Sloan as its chairman. On the same day the citizens organization was dissolved.

On February 15, 1972, the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of President Nixon was dissolved. On February 16, the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of the President was formed. Maurice H. Stans, chief fundraiser for the President's 1968 campaign, resigned as Secretary of Commerce to become chairman of this committee. Sloan became its treasurer. On April 7, 1972, this committee was in turn dissolved, and was replaced by the Finance Committee to Re-Elect the President (FCRP), which had been established 2 days earlier. Stans continued as chairman and Sloan as treasurer.

On March 1, 1972, Mitchell resigned as Attorney General and in April 1972 became campaign director of CRP. On June 30, 1972, Mitchell resigned as campaign director, and Clark MacGregor, counsel to the President for congressional relations, was appointed director of CRP.

White House staff members were active in the formation and operation of CRP, FCRP, and the predecessor organizations. Haldeman determined the transfer of senior or middle level people from the White House staff to the campaign organizations. He established the rules governing such transfers, and made decisions with respect to any exceptions to those rules, such as adjustments in salary.

In addition to Sloan and Flemming, who participated in forming the citizens organization, many of the most senior members of the campaign staffs had been on the White House staff. In May 1971, Magruder and Porter joined the citizens organization. Magruder acted as CRP chief of staff under Mitchell and became deputy campaign director when MacGregor took over in July 1972. By April 1972, 17 of 23 senior CRP staff members came from the White House staff or the administration.

Haldeman approved CRP's campaign advertising. In addition, he received copies of surrogate schedules and plans and polls. Haldeman designated Strachan as his liaison with the campaign organizations. Strachan's general responsibility was to keep informed about the campaign and to be available to answer questions Haldeman might have

from the President. From mid-1971 through the campaign Strachan relayed to Haldeman information he obtained at CRP and from politically active members of the White House staff. Copies of documents submitted to Mitchell or MacGregor normally were delivered to Strachan, who attached key documents to the memorandums he prepared for Haldeman. Haldeman reviewed these political matters memorandums and indicated action to be taken. Strachan or Higby conveyed Haldeman's decisions to the appropriate CRP or White House officials.

During the course of the 1972 campaign, a "political group," consisting of Mitchell, Ehrlichman, Haldeman, MacGregor, Colson, Special Counsel to the President Harry S. Dent, and Presidential aide Bryce Harlow, met on a weekly basis in the White House to formulate campaign policy and make tactical decisions. Another group led by Colson met regularly to organize responses to opposition statements and to coordinate CRP releases and speech writing for administration supporters.

Members of the White House staff also had individual campaign responsibilities. For example, Ehrlichman analyzed the possible impact of domestic issues on the campaign and participated in the preparation of the 1972 Republican platform. Chapin coordinated scheduling for the President, his family, and members of the administration making speeches on behalf of the President's candidacy. Colson assumed a variety of public relations responsibilities with respect to the campaign. Dean had responsibilities for CRP legal affairs and for political intelligence gathering and assisted in drafting model charters for campaign committees established to receive campaign contributions. Liddy left the White House in December 1971 to become counsel at CRP, and in March 1972 moved to FCRP as its counsel.

Beginning in 1969, Herbert Kalmbach, the President's personal lawyer, became trustee of the surplus 1968 campaign funds, which were augmented from time to time by additional contributions. The funds were maintained by Kalmbach and disbursed with Haldeman's approval. In February 1972 Haldeman directed that the major portion of the funds be transferred to the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of the President. Haldeman reviewed proposed budget items in detail.



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